1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17

they consisted of; of what nation or tribe their captain was, &c.; all which, at a single glance, is perfectly well understood by them. In the same manner they describe a chase: all Indian nations can do this, although they have not all the same marks; yet I have seen the Delawares read with ease the drawings of the Chippeways, Mingoes, Shawanos, and Wyandots, on similar subjects.

While Indians are travelling to the place of their destination, whether it be on a journey to their distant hunting grounds or on a war excursion, some of the young men are sent out to hunt by the way, who, when they have killed a deer, bear, or other animal, bring it to the path, ready to be taken away by those who are coming along, (often with horses) to the place of encampment, when they all meet at night. Having hung up the meat by the side of the path, these young men make a kind of sun-dial, in order to inform those who are coming of the time of day it was at the time of their arrival and departure. A clear place in the path is sought for, and if not readily found, one is made by the side of it, and a circle or ring being drawn on the sand or earth, a stick of about two or three feet in length is fixed in the centre, with its upper end bent towards that spot in the horizon where the sun stood at the time of their arrival or departure. If both are to be noted down, two separate sticks are set; but generally one is sufficient, namely, for the time of departure.

Hunters have particular marks, which they make on the trees, where they strike off from the path to their hunting grounds or place of encampment, which is often at the distance of many miles; yet the women, who come from their towns to fetch meat from these camps, will as readily find them as if they were conducted to the spot.

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote, which will at once shew how expressive and energetic is this hieroglyphic writing of the Indians. A white man in the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till. 462 476 [517]

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over. 462 221 [314]

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will 462 224

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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aged and decrepid persons. When going out a hunting they will put them on a horse or in a canoe, and take them into the woods to their hunting ground, in order to revive their spirits by making them enjoy the sight of a sport in which they can no longer participate. They place them in particular situations, where they are sure that the game they are in pursuit of will pass by, taking proper measures at the same time to prevent its escape, so that their aged parents and friends may, at least, as our sportsmen call it, *be in at the death*. Nor is this all; the hoary veterans must also enjoy the honours of the chase; when the animal, thus surrounded, is come within reach of their guns, when every possibility of escape is precluded, by the woods all around being set on fire, they all, young and old, fire together, so that it is difficult to decide whose ball it was that brought the animal to the ground. But they never are at a loss to decide, and always give it in favour of the oldest man in the party. So, when the young people have discovered a place where the bears have their haunts, or have resorted to for the winter, they frequently take with them to the spot, such of the old men as are yet able to walk or ride, where they not only have an opportunity of witnessing the sport, but receive their full share of the meat and oil.

At home the old are as well treated and taken care of as if they were favourite children. They are cherished and even caressed; indulged in health and nursed in sickness; and all their wishes and wants are anticipated. Their company is sought by the young, to whom their conversation is considered an honour. Their advice is asked on all occasions, their words are listened to as oracles, and their occasional garrulity, nay, even the the second childhood often attendant on extreme old age, is never with Indians a subject of ridicule, or laughter. Respect, gratitude and love are too predominant in their minds to permit any degrading idea to mix itself with these truly honourable and generous feelings.

[See Vol. 116, p. 348. - Ed. HSP]

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says, that hunger stimulates him to exertion by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this strong stimulant, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provisions home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark that they can see no longer.

The morning and evening, they say, are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is to say, between ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon, except in dark, cloudy and rainy weather, when the whole day is nearly equally good for hunting. Therefore the hunter, who happens to have no meat in the house, will be off and in the woods before day-light, and strive to be in again for breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear, or racoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile, his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If, however, the husband is not returned by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes home.

The Indians have a number of manners of preparing their corn. They make an excellent pottage of it, by boiling it with fresh or dried meat (the latter pounded), dried pumpkins, dry beans, and chesnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or molasses from the sugar-maple tree. Another very good dish is prepared by boiling with their corn or maize, the washed kernels of the shell-bark or hickory-nut. They pound the nuts in a block or mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, and gradually a little more as they become dry,

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bushy tail, moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments, the man, walking on all fours, might have been taken for a bear of an extraordinary size. Underneath, where his hands were, holes had been cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass. The whole was a great curiosity, but not to be looked at by every body.

There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women, who although not classed among doctors or physicians, yet get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge. Some pretend that they can bring down rain in dry weather when wanted, others prepare ingredients, which they sell to bad hunters, that they may have good luck, and others make philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot love each other.

When one of these jugglers is applied to to bring down rain in a dry season, he must in the first instance receive a fee. This fee is made up by the women, who, as cultivators of the land are supposed to be most interested, but the men will slily slip something into their hands in aid of their collection, which consists of wampum beads, tobacco, silver broaches, and a dressed deer skin to make shoes of. If the juggler does not succeed in his experiment, he never is in want of an excuse; either the winds are in opposition to one another, the dry wind or air is too powerful for the moist or south wind, or he has not been made *strong enough*, (that is sufficiently paid) to compel the north to give way to the south from whence the rain is to come, or lastly, he wants time to invoke the great Spirit to aid him on the important occasion.

In the summer of the year 1799, a most uncommon drouth happened in the Muskingum country, so that every thing growing, even the grass and the leaves of the trees, appeared perishing; an old man named *Chenos*, who

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them all through. "No matter, Father!" answered they in a jocular manner, "give us only rain and we will cheerfully bear the soaking." They then passed on, and I proceeded to *Goschachking*, the village to which I was going. I mentioned the circumstance to the chief of the place, and told him that I thought it impossible that we should have rain while the sky was so clear as it then was and had been for near five weeks together, without its being previously announced by some signs or change in the atmosphere. But the chief answered: "*Chenos* "knows very well what he is about; he can at any time "predict what the weather will be; he takes his observa- "tions morning and evening from the river or something "in it." On my return from this place after three o'clock in the afternoon, the sky still continued the same until about four o'clock, when all at once the horizon became overcast, and without any thunder or wind it began to rain, and continued so for several hours together, until the ground became thoroughly soaked.

I am of opinion that this man, like others whom I have known, was a strict observer of the weather, and that his prediction that day was made in consequence of his having observed some signs in the sky or in the water, which his experience had taught him to be the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.

The ingredients for a bad hunter, to make him have good luck, are tied up in a bit of cloth, and must be worn near his skin while he is hunting. The preparations intended to create love between man and wife, are to be slily conveyed to the frigid party by means of his victuals or drink.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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825 which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, [193] descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyse their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

I have already observed* that the Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

825 224 A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior as "you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would

* See Page 84.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"shew it by your firmness and not cry and whimper
"like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes
"are at war with each other, and that yours was the ag-
"gressor.* You have found the Indians too powerful
"for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the
"woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you
"have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered
"me, I would have borne it with courage and died like
"a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry,
"and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct."
I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear un-
"derstood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed*
"he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells*,† who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Hoosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

† The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI. page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the for-
"tune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen;
"that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die
"like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman;
"that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into
"the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my
"nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and
"courage, as becomes a true warrior."

I leave the reader to reflect upon these anecdotes, which, I think, convey more real information than any further attempts that I could make to explain the strange notions which gave them rise.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INSANITY—SUICIDE.

INSANITY is not common among the Indians; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one, young and old, feels compassion for their misfortune; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation or colour of the unfortunate object makes no difference; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no discrimination is made in such a lamentable case.

About the commencement of the Indian war in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods which he had

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shown in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash.

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery.

Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

taken together, is always as extensive, if not more so, than all the corn fields and kitchen gardens of an Indian family."[17] Luckenbach, a Moravian missionary of the early nineteenth century, said that the fields were "limited to two or three acres of corn for each family."[18] The Delawares today term the gardens "squaw patches" and claim that they never exceeded five acres in size (M.B., O.A.).

Most Delaware archaeological sites are in creek or valley bottoms;[19] in the eighteenth century such bottom land was chosen for gardens, since it was easily worked and was generally fertile.[20] Zeisberger, in the eighteenth century, took pains to point out that land away from rivers, although suitable for tillage by Europeans, was not utilized at all for this purpose by Indians.[21] Garden plots were cleared by bruising or removing the bark of the trees, then burning the trees after they were dry.[22] The seventeenth-century Swedish writers stated that garden plots were moved after the soil was exhausted.[23] Van der Donck in the middle of the century and Loskiel in the next century denied the use of fertilizer.[24] New England Indians, however, fertilized the land with fish, and Wallace has suggested that this trait may have been present among the Delawares.[25]

Corn was planted in ". . . square hills (so far apart) that one can conveniently walk between the hills. . . . And in each hill 6 or 7 grains are set."[26] According to De Rasieres:

> They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans . . . . R [corn] is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.[27]

Squash, pumpkins, several varieties of beans, and tobacco were also grown.[28] According to M.B. tobacco was grown only by women past the menopause. The Delawares blended their tobacco with sumac, one third sumac to two thirds tobacco.[29]

Hunting.—Hunting was important to the Delaware economy, not only because it provided food, but also because pelts and hides provided most of the material for clothing. The main objects of the hunt were deer and bear, but virtually all of the other mammals of their habitat were hunted and utilized for clothing or for food. This list included fox, raccoon, skunk, porcupine, opossum, and squirrel.[30] The Delawares

[17] Kalm, 1937, I: 307.
[18] Luckenbach, 1938, pp. 108-09.
[19] Personal communication from John Witthoft.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 44.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[22] Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 230; Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[23] Johnson, 1917, p. 279.
[24] Loskiel, 1794, p. 66.
[25] Flannery, 1939, p. 10; Wallace, 1947, p. 18.
[26] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[27] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; and Harrington, 1913, p. 221, contain similar accounts of their horticulture.
[28] Just, 1909, p. 21; Johnson, 1917, p. 279; Kalm, 1937, I: 74; Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 180-81; Holm, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Speck, 1943, p. 324.
[30] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 37, 62-63.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

The Delawares

traded to the Europeans and presumably they themselves utilized "otters, lynxes, fishes, minks, wild-cats, elk-hides. . .wolf skins, lion-hides, martins, and musk rat."[31] Neither the elk nor the bison formed an important part in Delaware subsistence in the eighteenth century, because their hides were "thick and heavy and of no value."[32] Neither animal was abundant in their habitat. Various birds formed a welcome addition to the diet and included "wild swans" (geese?), wild turkeys, wild pigeons, and partridges.[33] One seventeenth-century source described a method of pigeon hunting; trees which were favorite roosts for these birds were chopped nearly through, so that when a flock of pigeons settled down in the tree it would topple, killing a number of the birds.[34]

Individual hunting seems to have been confined primarily to the winter months; communal hunts, however, took place in the spring, summer, and fall.[35] One method of collective hunting, the "fire surround," was described by Lindestrom:

> When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people (to take a position) close together in a circle of 1/2, 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command . . . each one roots up the grass about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians . . . . When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals.[36]

De Vries described a "surround" in which the game was driven into an enclosure and shot with a bow and arrow, and also a variant type in which the game was driven into a river and lassoed.[37] An informant told Kinietz that "four hunters were as many as ever hunted together," but this is contrary to what informants told me and surely did not hold true in early times.[38] Communal hunts were led by "the oldest or most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council."[39] Zeisberger related that there was a strictly formalized hunting etiquette:

> It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

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[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 223.
[32] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 59; Loskiel, p. 79.
[33] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 85-86.
[34] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 218.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 213; De Vries, 1909, p. 230; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 58, 91, 128; Loskiel, 1794, p. 79.
[36] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 213-14.
[37] De Vries, 1909, p. 230; Brinton, 1890, p. 184.
[38] Kinietz, 1946, p. 64; J. T., M. B.
[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91; Kinietz, 1946, p. 64.

2:Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1946, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1798).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1842, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 187-89.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 43; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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were sometimes impounded by driving them with a brush roll, a technique widespread in the Southeast and among the Iroquois.[59]

Wild plant food.—The beans of the groundnut or wild bean, (*Apios americana*), were eaten, and its roots were boiled and eaten "instead of bread."[60] Kalm also said the Indians boiled, or roasted in ashes, a root which he called Katniss, apparently *Sagittaria latifolia* (Wapato, Water Nut, Swamp Potato). The roots of "Tawho," probably *Arisaema triphyllum* or jack-in-the-pulpit, were utilized "when bread and grain gave out."[61] They were placed in a pit, covered with earth, and baked by building a fire over the pit.[62] The dried and boiled seeds of the golden club (*Orontium aquaticum*) were eaten.[63]

From the eighteenth century on wild potatoes (*Ipomoea pandurata*) were frequently mentioned in the documents. They were baked into bread and were especially used in time of famine.[64] One informant (O.A.) also said that the wild potato, if boiled and mashed, was particularly useful as food for young children. Ginseng was gathered in the Ohio Valley during the eighteenth century and seems to have been sold to traders.[65] Other wild roots and tubers, utilized at least in later times, were wild onions, wild cabbage, "greens" (otherwise unidentified by O.A., M.B.), and water lily roots.[66] Zeisberger wrote of a time when his Christian Indians "industriously brought roots here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin, dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food."[67] The Delawares utilized many varieties of wild fruits, including wild grapes, strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, wild plums, huckleberries, and cranberries.[68] The "Indians," probably including Delawares, ate the fruit of the May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*).[69] They also made use of many nuts, chief among them being hickory (Skinner found them in archaeological deposits), hazelnut, and chestnut.[70] In Oklahoma the post-oak acorn (*Quercus stellata*) was eaten with hominy (J.T., O.A.).

The most important wild plant food of the eighteenth century was the sap of the sugar maple. Sugaring was not just an occasional pastime, for even in a bad year an individual made as much as one hundred pounds.[71] If a man owned several kettles, it was possible in good years to make several hundred pounds of sugar and some syrup.[72] This trait, however, was not mentioned by any of the seventeenth-century sources and was undoubtedly of less importance in pre-European times. As

[59] Zeisberger, 1778, p. 38; Fenton, 1942.
[60] Kalm, 1937, I: 259; De Vries, 1909, p. 219.
[61] Lindestrom, 1925, pp. 158-59.
[62] Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1887, p. 161, calls the Jack Maksaweek, "it causes purging," however.
[63] Kalm, 1937, I: 261.
[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47; M. B., O. A.
[65] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 47.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
[68] Juet, 1909, p. 18; Kalm, 1937, I: 261; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 46; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 286; Loskiel, 1794, pp. 68-69; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; O. A., M. B., J. T.
[69] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 47.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 219; Brinton, 1890, p. 185; Skinner, 1909, p. 46.
[71] Zeisberger, 1885, II: 349.
[72] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 50-51.

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become a shaman, chief, warrior, a person of riches, one with many relatives, or a failure.[19] The most unfortunate persons were those who had no guardian spirit. After one was granted a guardian spirit he commonly made an amulet or fetish. Frequently this was either a representation of the human figure or a stone or clay effigy of the human head. It also might be claws or teeth of an animal or bird.[20] Lindestrom said:

> They consider this their god, so sacred that no one is allowed to touch it.... In this their god they have such a strong faith, that the night he dreams about him, he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to....[21]

Although most of our information about the vision quest is relatively recent, there seems to be no reason why it should not be valid for prehistoric and early historic times.

Apart from the influence that individuals wielded over supernatural powers as a consequence of obtaining a guardian spirit, favor could be curried and influence exerted through sacrifice, primarily by burning flesh and tobacco, but also by dances and songs. Sacrifices of first fruits were commonly mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. Penn said of these:

> Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part [of their worship] is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another.[22]

Trowbridge said:

> When the ice is about to leave the rivers they make an offering of Tobacco with a wooden bowl of parched corn, by placing it on the surface and telling their grandfather, as they call it, that they leave him a pipe to smoke and something to eat on his journey. They sometimes make this offering of tobacco to obtain a safe voyage across the ice and for the same reason they throw it into the water when danger is apprehended. When they go to hunt, at the first encampment an offering of tobacco is made by burning, to the seven masters of the game.[23]

There were also many magical methods by which supernatural powers were influenced, but they are not well recorded in the literature. There are some indications from modern ethnographic data which

[19] Luckenbach, 1938, p. 612.
[20] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132-33.
[21] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 207; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 141, stated the same thing.
[22] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 208; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; M.B. Penn, 1882, p. 244.
[23] Trowbridge MS.

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Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous than those who rent them out.... The majority probably rent their fields and subsist on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.[3]

I have never seen a farming enterprise among the Cherokee-Delawares which could be considered a successful commercial venture. Some subsistence farming continues, but a large proportion of the adult males work in the various industries of the county, such as the Dewey Portland Cement Company, or the Phillips Petroleum Company. The older Delawares, who have remained in the area, appear to have done so mainly because they possessed no special training which would allow them to rise on the economic ladder or to leave for higher paid employment elsewhere. The older generation also seems to have had no culturally inspired incentives to acquire special skills.

There was considerable hunting in the early days in Oklahoma. Game was still fairly plentiful, and until about 1870 the Delawares had to hunt because their gardens yielded only a precarious livelihood. The chief object of the hunt was traditionally deer, and informants (J.T., O.A.) said that this was true in Oklahoma. They also ventured out onto the plains in quest of the bison. The Anadarko band, because of their location and probably because of their proximity to Plains tribes, made considerably more use of the bison. Besides these animals, prairie chickens, of which there were immense quantities in the early days, wild turkeys, quail, fish, beaver, and raccoon were utilized. In the Caney Valley the hunting was done on horseback, by individuals or at most by small groups. Communal bison hunts occasionally took place on the plains. These included women to do the butchering. Autumn was preferred for communal hunts since the cooler weather allowed the hunters to bring back fresh instead of jerked meat. Preparation, preservation, and storage of food followed the traditional patterns well into this century. Little or no food is dried or jerked by the Cherokee-Delawares at present; most food comes out of the can and is prepared in the Anglo-American tradition.

By the time the Delawares had migrated to Oklahoma the log house (about thirteen by twenty feet) had become the ordinary dwelling. A smaller log house was erected nearby and served as a cookhouse. The bark and sapling wigwam persisted as an auxiliary dwelling until this century, as old informants remember the details of these structures (O.A., M.B.). Small cookstoves were in general use by the time the Delawares appeared in Oklahoma, and the other furnishings were primarily of American origin and design. Gradually the early log buildings were replaced by small clapboard dwellings. Houses today are usually in poor repair and are overcrowded and small; they are comparable to those of the poorer whites of the area. No pottery was manufactured in

[3] Kinietz, 1946, p. 13.

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must have been vision or revelation. They had repeatedly looked out over the sea, until at last a vessel was sighted, when they had immediately summoned the Indians and said: "See, here comes some one to us, concerning whose coming we have long ago told you; the gods are coming to visit us." They worshipped them, regarding them as deities. When the whites landed, they gave the Indians knives, hatchets, muskets and various other things they knew not how to use and, consequently, carefully put away. On occasion of feasts or sacrifices they suspended the knives and hatchets from their necks as ornaments and worshipped the various articles, bringing sacrifices to them. The muskets they did not use except on special days, when to satisfy curiosity a few shots were fired and then sacrifices offered them. When the whites, after lapse of considerable time came again and saw that the things they had given were worn about the neck, they gave the Indians instructions in the use of the knife, hatchet and musket.

In those early days the manner of living of the Indians was very different from that of the present time, yet, though they were wretchedly equipped and could barely supply their wants, they succeeded in supporting life.[29] They planted corn, beans, pumpkins, which they had at that time. Their hoe was a bone from the shoulder blade of the deer, which is broad at one end and very narrow at the other. With this bound to a stick they worked the soil. A turtle-shell sharpened by means of a stone and similarly attached to a stick, served much the same purpose. A kind of tobacco known as Brazilian tobacco, they also had; to the present day this tobacco, which has but small leaves, is called Indian tobacco.

Their knives were made of flint, not in the form of our knives but shaped like arrow-heads, i. e., triangular, quite thin and with the two larger sides sharp. With such knives they stripped off the skin of deer and other game.

Their hatchets, also made of stone and about the length of a hand, smoothed and sharpened, were secured to a wooden handle. These were not used for splitting wood but only to kill trees, as no more is necessary than to chop through the bark, if this is done at the right time, or to peel off bast for covering

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their huts. Trees were killed wherever they wished to have space for planting.

For the chase they used bow and arrow, both made of wood, the point of the arrow alone being of flint in the shape of a lengthened triangle, sharp and pointed, securely tied to the shaft.

Kettles and pots for cooking they made of clay mixed with sea shells, pounded very fine. After the pot had been shaped it was burned hard in fire. All these things, knives, hatchets, arrows and large pieces of the pottery they used at one time, are frequently found in places where Indians have lived. Potsherds have become black through and through so that the shell pieces may be seen.

They could shoot game as well in those days as at the present time with their rifled guns. They declare that game was not as shy then as now by reason of the report of the guns. In those days they killed only as much of game as was needed for sustenance, skins being used for clothing both men and women; hence, game was more abundant at that time. The women made blankets of turkey-feathers which were bound together with twine made of wild hemp. Of such many are to be found even at the present day among the Indians, and these in winter are a better protection against the cold than the best European blanket. The women also made themselves petticoats of wild hemp.

Bow and arrow have fallen into disuse among those Indians that trade with whites; are, indeed, only used for small game, such as the pigeon, fox and raccoon, in order to save powder. There are, however, whole tribes to the west and northwest that use nothing but bow and arrow in the chase and that have no European weapons, that are not even anxious to obtain them; for, say they, if we discard bow and arrow, who will then make for us enough of powder and shot. They prefer, therefore, to hold to their old custom and usage.

The fire materials of those days consisted of a dry piece of wood or board and a round dry stick. The latter was placed upon the board and turned or twirled with great swiftness, both hands being used, until there was smoke and fire. This, however, was done only in case their fire had gone out, which they

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136 down to consume the nuts. Where there is food and mast they are found. It is as if they knew that in this or that region it would be good for them to live. In the fall, when the Indians hunt the deer, they take no notice of the bears; otherwise they would spoil their fall hunting. They do, however, notice their tracks and whither they lead. At the end of December the bears, having fattened, seek their winter quarters, which they prepare in the trunks of hollow trees or in caves or the thickest part of the forest, where many old trees lie piled up. They leave their winter quarters in early spring, if they have young, of which there are generally two, not until May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but to live on their own fat. When the deer hunt of the fall, at which season skins are 136 best, is over, the Indians immediately prepare for the bear hunt. ●224 They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bears are in hollow trees, it is frequently necessary to cut down the tree, as the bear will not leave his retreat otherwise. In case the bear comes out when they hammer on the tree and make a noise, they stand prepared with their guns to kill him as soon as most of his bulk is emerged. Their skins [513] are no great object for trade, hence the Indians prefer to use them for their sleeping places, for which the long hair makes them peculiarly useful. There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common bear, with much hair on the legs, but little on the bodies, which appear quite smooth.[149] The Indians call it the king of bears, for they have found by experience that many bears will willingly follow it. While all the bears are carnivorous, and, therefore, flesh of game kept by the Indians hanging on trees forms for them a welcome repast, or they are fond of feeding on swine they catch in the forest, this kind of bear is particularly voracious. Many instances are known where they have seized upon even defenseless Indian women and children. In more northerly regions, as, e. g., in the country of the Mingoes, these are more frequently found and they have killed many Indians.

136 Elk are in my estimation most like the European stag,[150] and I have often thought that they must be the same species and that what is here called the stag is the European fallow deer,

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but as I have seen neither stag nor fallow deer in Europe I cannot speak authoritatively. I recognize that the English distinguish between the elk and the stag in Europe. They, also, shed their coat in spring and are reddish in color during the summer like the deer. In fall they are light gray and in winter dark gray. The bucks have long, heavy antlers with many prongs. These they shed each year as do the deer. The tail is quite short. As the skins are very thick and heavy and of no particular value, elk do not tempt the Indians to the chase. Occasionally, one is shot that happens near an Indian, but most of the flesh is left in the forest for beasts of prey, even though the animals are always fat, in summer as in winter and do not become lean, like the deer. 136 [224]

The buffaloes[231] are dark brown in color, covered with long hair, or rather soft down mixed with hair. Their legs are short, the body is very heavy. They have a hunch upon their backs, just above the shoulders. This diminishes toward the rear, hence, they appear much shorter from the back than from the front. They have a thick head and a long beard depends from the chin. Altogether, they present a terrible appearance. Their horns are short, but thick and quite black. The buffaloes are a good deal heavier and larger than cattle. One that I have seen [231] was a yearling, raised by the Indians and quite tame; even this was the size of a small cow, that has already had calf. At one time these animals appeared in great numbers along the Muskingum, but as soon as the country begins to be inhabited by the Indians, they retire and are now only to be found near the mouth of the above named river. Along the banks of the Scioto and further south, both Indians and whites say that they may be seen in herds numbering hundreds. That is two or three hundred miles from here. If a buffalo cow is shot, its calf, if such it has, will stand quietly by until the huntsman has skinned its dam and then follow him into his hut, stay at his fire and not leave him. That this is true, I have living witnesses enough about me to testify.

The panther[232] has a head and face like a cat, its legs are short and the paws are armed with sharp claws. It is a beast of prey of uncommon strength. Its tail is long, compared with

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136 that of the cat. Deer it is able to catch at will. If it spies one and is desirous of capturing it, the panther crawls along the ground behind fallen trees or through the thicket until it is sure of capturing the deer in one leap. Then it springs upon its prey, seizes it with its claws and does not release its hold until the victim is dead. If it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When the deer has been killed, the panther devours but a small part, leaving the rest. When again pressed by hunger it seeks new game. At a distance of ten yards from a tree, the panther can leap ten yards up the tree and leap the same distance from the tree. It is not known that a panther has ever done the Indians injury without provocation. Should an Indian get near the place where the young are kept, 136 then he is in great danger and if he does not know what to do ●224 under such circumstances, is almost sure to lose his life. He must never turn his back upon the panther, thinking that he can escape. He must not take his eyes off the animal, and if he has not the courage to shoot, gently walk backward, until he is a good distance away. If he shoots and misses, then he is in imminent danger and must keep his eyes fixed on the panther. It has happened that in this way Indians have saved their lives. It has occurred that a bear has fought so long with a panther, near to where the latter had its young, that both fell dead. The skin of the panther is gray in color, mixed with reddish hair.

136 Wild cats, gray in color, are distinguished from the domestic cats in that they have hardly any tail.[145] They are beasts of prey, even invade the hunting lodges of the Indians, when the latter are out and if they find meat devour it.

There are three varieties of fox, red,[146] gray[148] and black.[149]

The raccoon[147] is somewhat larger than a common cat and has a pointed snout. Its forefeet bear some resemblance to hands and are used as such, for it digs up small mussels out of the sand, which form its food when there are no acorns or chestnuts to be had. Its hind legs resemble those of the bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow logs like a bear, without seeking food. They do not hibernate as long as do the bears. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months,

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otherwise, only four weeks. The flesh is wholesome and tastes like bears' meat and its skin is useful to hatters. 136

The otter[188] can live on land or in water. It often travels a considerable distance across the country from one creek or river to another.

The beaver[189] was formerly found in great numbers in this region, but since the Indians have learned from the whites to catch them in steel-traps,[190] they are more rarely found. A necessary thing in connection with the beaver-catch is a certain oil or spirit which the Indians prepare of various kinds of bark of trees and other aromatic things, which they place in the traps to decoy the beavers into them. The skins are always of considerable value. They are very industrious animals and for their size, of uncommon strength. Beaver dams of such dimensions are found in creeks, that it might be imagined that they had been built by human hands. Such dams they build when there are many together, for they work harmoniously, at night, in order to dam up the water and often put a considerable piece of land under water in course of their operations. In the middle of the dam they build their dwelling places that are raised above the water, wood and earth being the materials used. As their dens are in the middle of the lakes they cannot be easily reached. In the front part of the mouth they have four quite broad and very sharp teeth, two above and two below. With these they are able to gnaw through trees that are nearly a foot in diameter. When the tree is down they divide it into pieces of such size that they are able to manage them. These pieces carried into the water, they join together in such fashion that the water cannot tear them apart. I have myself seen in quite a large creek a beaver dam, in which the beavers were still undisturbed at home, so that I could observe their habits and work. The dam, extending straight across the creek, reached three feet above the water, so that it was possible to cross the creek dry shod, and put several acres of land under water. In another place, where the water had threatened to take another course, they had been obliged to build another dam, made of earth and branches of trees. Had this dam not been so far from human habitation, one might have thought that it had been constructed 136 224 136

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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [862] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a [262] tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [825] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them [224] tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

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morning as soon as the sun begins to shine and return to the forest only at sundown. This species of snail deposits a colorless liquid of the consistency of saliva on the stems of various plants in the forest (presumably containing the eggs of the animal, which are hatched out by the sun). From this, it is supposed that the pestiferous gad-flies are hatched out.[247] Where there are large herds of cattle that destroy the weeds and root them up, not many of these insects are found.[248]

The common frogs are found in swamps near puddles and ponds. They are of a brownish color, do not croak, but have a note like a short whistle.[249] In springtime they may be heard all night. The Mingoes catch them at night by the light of a torch and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with and only in rivers and brooks.[250] The largest American frog is the bull frog.[251] It inhabits rivers and large brooks. Their croaking resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating.

I [222 262]

Of rats, nothing is known in these parts, but mice[252] are very common.

Mosquitoes and sandflies are found in woods in summertime in great numbers. Both sting and a night in the forest would be intolerable without the smoke of a fire. They are particularly annoying in changeable weather. Even horses will make for the fire and stand in smoke to be free of the pests. Great and small gadflies come in July and August and trouble cattle so much that only at night the latter will graze, the gadflies disappearing until dawn of day.

Ticks are to be found in the woods. These will attack one, pierce the skin and suck the blood until they have so swelled that they drop off. Bed-bugs are to be found in the Indian huts at any time and fleas in the summer, not a few.

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The first deer a boy shoots proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck it is given to some old man; if a doe, to some old woman. These bring in the whole animal, skinned, if it is possible to do so. If the animal is too heavy, they bring the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry, fetching the rest later. When they reach the village, they

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224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 178 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[253] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

784 276 No young Indian in those days would have dared to take the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, raccoon, fox, polecat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out. This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he [574] will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest [224] part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each
837 other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continuing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some
582 other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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pocket. Thus the old men support themselves when they can no longer engage in the chase. As there are several sorts of charm of this character, every one is desirous to get the best, even if [887] he has already at the price of half the catch of a season bought one charm and if it should cost him the greater part of his property to get the new one of which he has heard. Some Indians chew a certain root when on the deer-hunt, so the deer may not notice their approach when the wind blowing over the Indian to the game would otherwise give the alarm.

Another kind of Beson, considered to be a more powerful charm, is taken inwardly and occasions violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to the opinion of the Indians this beson will prove mischievous and have a contrary effect unless every ceremony connected with its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, observing all the rules prescribed by magic art. Not having taken any food he then starts on the chase and does not return before evening unless he has secured some game. It is claimed that the use of this charm enables them to shoot deer in considerable numbers. I have observed, however, that Indians have repeatedly taken such doses [777] during a period of three weeks and not been successful. In such cases ill-luck is ascribed to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. In cases where Indians, unable to secure anything in spite of the use of this beson while I was present have been successful in my absence, it has appeared that my presence has in some way interfered with their incantations. [788] In connection with the chase they lay much stress on dreams. If the dreamer fancies he sees an Indian and hears him say, "If thou will sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure," he will immediately prepare a sacrifice and burn the whole or part of a deer in honor of the apparition.

Occasionally, when an Indian would go hunting for a season, he will by way of preparation shoot a deer or two, bring home the flesh and prepare a feast, which is at the same time a sacrifice, to which the aged are invited. The latter pray for him that he may be fortunate and then he departs to stay away some time.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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cine," [8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone [9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

755

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum [10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

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The Otter [12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington [13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine [14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

[804]

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So far as could be ascertained, the use of corn medicine and fish fertilizer in corn hills, is the only vestige of the ritualistic complex now associated with maize cultivation.[8] My informant stated that in former times it was customary to use medicine in which corn was soaked to prevent cut worms. At present, seed corn is soaked in water and hardwood ashes. Fish bones were burned and combined with wood ashes and put in the corn hills as an offering to the Maize Spirit. Corn, beans, and squash were planted together, but the legend of the Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) [9] so prominent in Iroquois mythology, is absent.

The different varieties of maize are not planted near one another because, it is said, "One will visit the other and forget to come back."

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When corn matures one must share the first gathering with a less fortunate tribesman or with some old person. This rule applies to all crops as well as to the first kill.[10] In order that people may continue to receive the blessings of the Creator, every man is obligated to share his first fruits and game with others, before partaking of them himself. The practice of sharing vegetable food with a neighbor is known by the term, "I feed you." A hunter offering animal flesh in observance of this rule, used the phrase, "I give you some meat."

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There are several methods employed in preparing corn as food.

(a) The husk is taken off and the ears laid in the sun until thoroughly dry. The grains may then be removed and pounded into hominy grits.

(b) After removing the husk, the ears are boiled until thoroughly cooked. They are allowed to cool, the grains removed with a spoon and spread out to dry.

(c) The ears are laid before the fire and roasted.

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Early records indicate that corn parched and crushed to meal, served as a very nourishing food which was indispensable to the hunter or

[8] The Iroquois observed the practice of soaking seed corn in a medicine especially prepared from certain plants. "In ancient times they enriched the soil with both fish and shell." (Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

[9] The corn, bean and squash complex is discussed by Parker, 1910, p. 36, and Converse, 1910, p. 63.

[10] According to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 84) a hunter before setting out upon a long hunting trip, would kill a deer or two and prepare a feast as a sacrifice to the game. The old people as invited guests would pray for his good fortune during the expedition.

present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato." The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter. 825 224

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species. [262]

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked. 224 252

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor. 251 252

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

(Lindstrom, p. 215). Men went by themselves or took their families to the woods for periods of several days or weeks. In addition to their dependence on a steady aim with bow and arrow, they attempted to attract the animals by the use of charms and imitations of their calls (Harrington, 1913, pp. 221-22; Loskiel, p. 77). Loskiel, in the eighteenth century, also mentions the practice of chasing wounded deer for long distances if they did not fall on the first shot, but this cannot be documented by earlier accounts (Loskiel, p. 76).

Early Swedish writers noted that turkeys and other birds, deer, beavers and other small animals were snared (the twitchup is the only type of snare specifically mentioned) and beavers were sometimes killed with a lance (Johnson, p. 281). Pigeons might be killed by cutting all sides of a tree used as a roost, then toppling it when the birds alighted (Lindstrom, pp. 216-17).

Remnants of the Delaware's hunting equipment are found abundantly in their old haunts. Stone arrow points and lance heads are particularly numerous, but antler points are found in smaller quantities (Abbott, 1875, p. 269; Skinner, 1915, p. 10; Smith, p. 139; Kalm, p. 230). Stone axes suitable for crushing bones or shells, and knives suitable for skinning and cutting up the meat are also found in abundance (Abbott, 1875, pp. 264 and 303; Skinner, 1909, pp. 18-20; Kalm, p. 230; Heye, p. 71).

Even the earliest writers were aware to some extent of the reverence in which Delaware hunters held the provider of their sustenance. Lindstrom and Penn mention that the first catch of the season was eaten at a special feast accompanied by singing and dancing. All that was not eaten was burned, and on no account was any part sold (Lindstrom, pp. 214-15; Penn, p. 38). Boys did not begin hunting until about fifteen years of age, sometimes starting as the result of success in obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision. It was believed that the youth would be able to catch all that he desired on the day after such a vision (Lindstrom, p. 208).

The women's main contribution to the food supply lay in agriculture. Without doubt the most important crop was maize, of which the Delaware had several varieties[2] (De Rasieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74; Lindstrom, p. 223). To get some impression of the amount of maize grown, we may note that Krieger, commander in an expedition against one band of New Jersey Delaware in 1663, says that he cut down 215 acres of maize and burned more than 100 pits of corn and beans (Krieger, p. 39). There are also ample references to the cultivations of beans, squash (including pumpkins) and tobacco[3] (Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Johnson, p. 279; Kalm, p. 74).

Since the Delaware had no axe adequate to cut down a tree of any considerable size, they cleared their fields by seriously bruising the bark of the trees, thereby killing them. In this operation they

inside the oven, shook a calabash rattle and threw tobacco in the fire while asking the spirits to grant the boy good luck (Loskiel, p. 43).

To these ceremonies each person had to contribute a certain amount of wampum, a feature noted by Penn (p. 39). Of the rationale behind this custom, Frank Speck says: "...the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in the early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the effects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property." (Speck, 1931, p. 63).

In addition to these more formal ceremonies, Brickell states that "...when they start on a hunting expedition, the first game that is taken they skin and dress whole, breaking not a bone, leaving on the head, ears and hoofs. This they bring to camp and cook whole, and everyone eats of it, and the rest they burn entirely up." (p. 49).

The Delaware communicated with the supernatural by means of visions. "...they give much heed to dreams, because they suppose these invisible powers give them direction at such times about certain affairs, and sometimes inform them what animal they choose to be worshipped in." (Brainerd, pp. 349-350; also see Loskiel, p. 40). In regard to the last, Lindstrom says: "They adopt their Paarka or idol when about fifteen. They may make a human figure, claw of bear or eagle, tooth or bird bill. They hang it about their neck and it is so sacred that no one may touch it." (Lindstrom, p. 207). These animals which became guardian spirits received their power from the great Spirit. Such an animal became sacred to the person to whom it was the author of good, although to others it was the same as any other animal (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 132; Brainerd, pp. 344-345).[15]

The Hereafter

From the earliest sources we find that the Delaware had a concept of an immortal soul, a hereafter which was better than life on earth and that the attainment of this place was linked with good behavior in life. The hereafter was believed to lie to the south, but its location was very vaguely conceived. Likewise although they had the idea of reward for a good life, there was no definite expression of what this good life would involve. The bad were to be punished not by any torture but by the inability to attain the place of bliss (Penn, p. 37; Brainerd, p. 346; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 128-29; Brickell, p. 49). The greatest difference between the Delaware concept of good and that of the Christian theology of the period lay in the fact that the Delaware concept was completely concerned with man's behavior toward his fellow man. The sacrifices which were made were apparently expected to influence one's immediate fortune but to have little effect on the state of the soul after death. Thus Brainerd says that the bad folk are those who "...lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends and especially to aged parents, and in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." (p. 346).

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is also

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "*Ho-o-o!*" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again."

264
796x

DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS

When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles.

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When they have finished eating, they

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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Lenape

●224 796[x] [516] When they have finished eating they arrange themselves in a row, each hunter standing on his left foot and barely touching the ground with the toes of his right, an action whose meaning I have not yet been able to determine.

Then the speaker rises and talks to them, and the Mĭsi'ng[w'] who has been seen about the camp from time to time, is in the Big House listening to his words. "When you hunt," says the speaker, "think of nothing but luck to kill deer." As he speaks he goes to the [276] [782] west fire and throws into it, six times, an offering of native tobacco; then to the east fire, where he sacrifices six more pinches of the sacred herb—twelve in all. While sacrificing tobacco, he prays to the Mĭsi'ng[w'] to drive the deer up, so that the hunters can kill them. As he drops the last tobacco into the flames, he says, "If you kill a deer right away, bring it in tonight; if not, bring in all you kill day after tomorrow."

What tobacco is left is given to the chief hunter with the words, "When you camp tonight, burn this and ask Mĭsinghâli'kŭn

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape

to let you kill deer." The reader will remember that Mĭsinghâli'kŭn, in whose image the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' is carved, is supposed to have control over the deer, and in fact over all wild animals.

All the hunters that are in the habit of chewing tobacco are now given some for this purpose. When they file out and mount their horses, the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' follows them and sees them off.

After the hunters have disappeared, the people call the Mĭsi'ng^{w}' back into the Big House and coax him to dance, while two men volunteer to sing for him.

PRAYER FOR THE HUNTERS

The following evening six men are appointed and given a yard of wampum to divide among them, to go out close to the forked game-pole east of the Big House, intended for the carcasses of the deer, and "pray" there twelve times. The meaning of this, of course, is that they sound the prayer word "*Ho-o-o!*" which is evidently to help the hunters. This night also a yard of wampum is unstrung

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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and scattered on the ground just west of the east fire, and this the attendants must pick up, crying "*Ho-o-o!*" as they do so. For doing this, which is called "picking berries," they are supposed to keep what wampum they pick up.

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS

If the hunters are lucky and kill a deer the first day, they send one man back with it. As he approaches he fires a [202] gun as a signal of his coming, at which the singers run into the Big House and begin to sing and beat the drum. Then everyone is happy.

In any case the hunters all return on the third day. If they have killed deer, they shoot their guns; if not, they come in very quietly. When the shots are heard, the singers hasten to their places, and, beating the drum, sing a song that is used only on such occasions. Then when the hunters arrive, they feast, and their leader announces the names of those lucky enough to kill a deer. The carcasses are skinned and hung on the deer

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

pole (shown in frontispiece), east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.

224 ●
796 x

NEW FIRE

Every night the usual program is repeated until the ninth. On this night a new fire is kindled with the sacred pump-drill called *tu"da'i wähe"'ji manï'towŭk* or "Fire maker of the Manï'tos" (fig. 8), and the ashes of the old are carried out through the west door of the Big House, which is used only for this purpose (among the Unami), and is usually kept closed. The new fire seems to symbolize a fresh start in all the affairs of life.

372
796 x

USE OF CARVED DRUMSTICKS

Also on the ninth night, before the singing begins, they bring out the two ancient drumsticks (*pa kŭ"di'gŭn*), carved with tiny human heads, one male and one female (fig. 11), to use in place of the cruder sticks used before, which are marked only with a rude cross (fig. 12, *a*).

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[Text continues on page 103]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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same way the twelve MIsi'ng^{w} faces carved upon the posts of the building, also the drumsticks, the prayersticks, the deerskin drum, and the turtles. A variant has it that both bark vessels contain paint, the customs differing according to phratry.

Each woman who takes part on this night receives a share of the venison, if there is any,—the biggest and fattest buck the hunters kill,—and the attendants cook it for them at the fire outside.

CONCLUSION OF CEREMONY

Next morning the men resume the ceremony and continue until the sun is high. Two men are then appointed to close the meeting, for which each receives one yard of wampum. Their duty is to sing twelve times while the people dance about the central post, the women in a circle next to the post, the men in another circle outside that of the women. These two singers stop dancing in front of where the chief is sitting, and announce, "We will now pray twelve times." They

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, "We will feed you again in two years."

BUFFALO DANCE

Such was the list of native Lenape ceremonies furnished by our informants; but Adams[88] mentions several more, for which the writer was unable to procure much in the way of data. One of these was the Buffalo dance, which the writer feels should be included with the Otter and Bear ceremonies, although Adams calls it a "pleasure dance." He admits, it will be observed, that it usually took place before hunters started on the chase. His account follows:

"The Buffalo dance is a pleasure dance and always begins in the morning and lasts all day. The ground is made clean in a circle large enough to dance on, and in the center a fire is built and a fork driven into the ground on each side, and a pole placed across the fire east and west. On each side of the fire is a large brass kettle hanging across the pole with hominy in it, and when the dance is nearly over the dancers eat the hominy, dipping their hands in the kettle. The singers are outside of the ring and beat on a dried deer

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

hide stretched over poles. They do not use the same step in the dance, but gallop like buffaloes and bellow like them, also have horns on their heads and occasionally hook at each other. The dance is usually given before starting on a chase."

224 ●
796 ✗

IMPORTED CEREMONIES

Skeleton Dance

177
769

The preceding ceremonies have all been, ostensibly at least, of native Lenape origin, but we now come to several whose outside origin is admitted by the Indians themselves. The most ancient of these is the "Human Skeleton Dance," mentioned by Adams.[30] He calls it a rite belonging to the Wolf clan or phratry of the Delawares, but the writer's informants say that it is not true Lenape at all, but a Nanticoke (One"tko) ceremony introduced among the Lenape by the survivors of that tribe who had joined forces with them. Adams' account, which is better than any the writer was able to obtain, is as follows:

"*Human Skeleton Dance.*—Given only by the Wolf clan of the Delawares. A

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh inventsion*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Hunting and Shooting of the American Savage People.

The soil in New Sweden is so loose, as if we stood and poked in ashes, because the earth there is not so closely rooted or sodded, as when it is somewhat used in the beginning, burnt, sown and cut.[1] There indeed grows a great deal of high grass, which reaches above the knees of a man, but the stalks are so far apart that one can uproot it like flax or hemp. There is also no thickly grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted. The soil also appears there in the country, as if it formerly had stood under water, for there is found everywhere on the ground an abundance of all kinds of mussels and shells, as well as other things that are found in the water.[2]

Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation.[3] Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then he commands his people [to

[1] *Jorden in Nova Suecia är så lösa som man stodo och rörde j Aska, af orsaak att Jorden är ther inthet så tätt rotader eller vallader såsom när hon blyfver nägot j förstonne brukader, brändh, sådder och afslagen.* This is ambiguous. Perhaps it means that the ground is loose before grass-roots and other growths have made it tough.

[2] *Musslor och allehanda skaalar sampt annat som i wattnet finnes.*

[3] *Artigh invention.* See above, Chapt. XV, note 6.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 take a position] close together in a circle of ½, 1 or 2 miles,[4] according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm,[5] then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain [they consecrate to Manitto]. When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast[6] they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i.e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that

[4] Swedish or German miles.

[5] The idea is: when the circle has been so contracted that the animals run from one side of the circle to the other but before the hunters get too near to one another, they begin shooting. Dr. V. O. Freeburg, of New York, tells me that wolf hunts of this character were arranged in Kansas in the early days. Cf. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 167; III, 108, etc. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 581.

[6] *Och hollet sitt gästebodh.*

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely:[7] *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä*, etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.[8]

In this their convention[9] they [also] practice shooting. He who is sachem has a turkey placed very high in the air, whose entrails are removed and [the body] filled again with their money.[10] And the one who then can shoot it down, he receives the money, *et talia*, etc.

In the meantime later in the year, when the grass has thus been burnt off the land, they do not care to arrange any more such hunts,[11] but shoot the animals wherever they find them in the woods, which they have no difficulty in doing, because they have scent of the animals like the dogs; for often the savages say to the Christians, when they follow them in the woods: "Indeed I now feel the scent of deer, if I wanted to bother to go after them." This the Christians did not believe in the beginning, before they followed them, and got to see that they were right. Otherwise they are so perfect in shooting that they do not miss.

And the savage is so armstrong that he is able to shoot with a bow so far, that no gun can carry

[7] *Tå roopa the och sunga således, nämbl.*
[8] So that it can be heard far over the forest. *Hegginj*, etc., the final *j* is used for *i*. Cf. Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 153 ff.; above, p. XL.
[9] *Uthi detta sitt consort.*
[10] Wampum.
[11] Like the one described above.

8:Linestrom T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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224

25. "Later in the year, when the grass has been burnt off the land . . . they shoot the animals wherever they can find them in the woods." See p. 215. The method of disguise pictured above was cleverly employed by the Indians in a variety of forms.

501

26. Fishing. See pp. 219-20. "They use no other vessels . . . than canoes." They also mason for themselves a little *fireplace*." (*Notice the smoke between the two sitting figures.*) See p. 238.

[Facing p. 219]

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	+	+	+	+
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	§	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		•+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	•	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	•	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

| | | |

9: Kinists E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small [524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio [171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

● 224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed [196] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

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third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and conclusion of the expedition. 224 [796]

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31). [576]

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of 332

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852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 The elements under this heading are few and show little
302 change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair behind the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 776 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hä, hä, hä; Hägginj hä; Hägginj hä, Hägginj hä, hä, hä, hä,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

CONSTITUTION, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, DRESS, ETC.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary. W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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bility and maturity comes to the individual he feels that he is called to take his place in the annual ceremony. A new vision of life dawns upon him. He realizes that he has been brought into the world for a purpose and permitted to live to middle-age to raise children, take care of the aged relatives, help the people to health and comfort. Then there is also the feeling that others are observing him as an example of conduct. So he assumes his responsibility and prepares to appear in the Big House ceremony.[1]

We are told that the Big House performances were originally esoteric. Whites were excluded from it during the ceremonies, though in recent years the objection to their presence has been withdrawn due to intermarriage between Delaware women and white men.

The virtue of humility, so extolled and propogated in the philosophy of the Delawares, and the Iroquois[2] as well is one to which too little emphasis has been given by students. Historians, in particular those contrasting the humility of the evangelists with the contemptuousness of the natives, have ignored the declarations of ethnologists in this respect.[3]

THE SYMBOL OF TWELVE.—Allusion has previously been made in several places in our discussion, to the sanctity of the concept of twelve, the reason for which among the Delawares seems not to be objectively expressed.[4] Twelve is nevertheless a fundamental symbolical number. Throughout the text we hear of the Great Spirit residing in the twelfth stratum of the sky; of the prayer-call addressed to him uttered twelve times in succession; of the twelve prayer sticks or wands which lift the prayer to the twelfth heaven. The Big House ceremony itself is of twelve days' duration. The belief being that each day's performance lifts the worship a stage higher in the series of twelve successive sky levels until on the final day it reaches the Great Spirit himself.

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[1] Maturity is an important consideration with the Delawares. Among many facts still to be obtained in regard to restrictions of boys under the age of puberty, for instance, it may be interesting to note that these when they become old enough to take part in the hunt, are not allowed to eat soup lest their testicles rattle so warning game animals ahead of them, or to eat the heart of the animal lest they lose courage; or the animal's head, eyes, or ears lest they be bothered with gnats.

[2] A. C. Parker, The Code of Handsome Lake, Bull. 163. New York State Museum, Albany, 1912.

[3] For example Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.[3] tells his readers, "The red man had never much respect for the virtue of humility, and the young missionary (referring to Marquette among the Illinois) was treated rather contemptuously by many of the degraded wretches whom he was trying to regenerate." Pioneer Priests of North Amer. N. Y. 1911, Vol. III, p. 109.

[4] The importance of seven in Delaware thought has been stressed by A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, N. Y. p. 252, f. n. 1) without giving the source. There seems to be no evidence of this in the material at hand.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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hunt because to do so we concentrate our minds[1] in order that we may be favored with success. The Hunt-Leader and his assistant and also the cook[2] must all be selected, and also the tobacco together with the rations for the journey. You Attendants must see to it with care that plenty of rations for the journey are furnished for all the hunters; the bread.

539X 796

ADDRESS ON THE FOURTH MORNING TO THE HUNTERS ABOUT TO LEAVE. THE MASK PERFORMANCE

Here now, my kindred, we have come to the fourth day since we began, in this place, to perform the ceremony. And each and every one of us knows the ruling of this our form of Prayer-Worship. Now we are using the tobacco our grandfather, while we are pleading earnestly with the Great Spirit. And the Mask-Spirit also, when we are giving thanks to him our grandfather Fire. This is how it is done by the Bringer-in[3], "I thank all the Spirit-Forces on top of the earth and all the Spirit-Forces up above. Wherefore we earnestly plead with grandfather when we give you to eat this red man's tobacco. Have pity on us here your grandchildren. They are begging you, Oh Mask-Spirit, that we may have success. Give us the wild animals since you control them, all the wild animals because we need that we may be blessed with this meat. And that one, our mother the corn, because of all the food given us I thank you Spirit Forces that we are given the blessing of your spirit-power. Now give us all we ask of you Great Spirit that you are and, our creator, think of your children."

539X 796 782

Brothers![4] Now the Hunt Leader, and he who is assistant, and also the cook, you must all remember the instructions and traditional rules that all persons who hunt observe as they journey. Here now being under our power, you are taking as you go the spirit-power of the Mask-Spirit, and tobacco is given the Hunt Leader and his assistant which they carry. Now when you have been gone two days it is permissible that any one who has killed something, they may use the meat.[5]

539X 796

[1] This means that the hunters who are now to go forth are to be supported and strengthened by the "power of wish," in concentration by the worshippers who stay behind in the Big House.

[2] Incidentally this is one of the occasions when the Attendants are obliged to furnish the food without the usual payment of wampum that they ordinarily receive.

[3] He prays as follows and sprinkles a little tobacco on each of the two fires of the Big House while declaiming.

[4] The Master of Ceremonies having finished his prayer now addresses the hunters who are ready to go forth. He charges them with their instructions as they stand directly in front of the drummers, facing him.

[5] This means that if no deer have been taken by the hunters by the second day they may kill and eat any animal for food since by this time they may be relieved from the monotony of the corn bread diet.

Some of the interesting observations of this event as remembered by the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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Now when they return from the hunt, the Hunt-Leader when now he has come near even if it is midnight, shall shoot a signal once for as many deer as were killed, shooting so many times. And now when the Cranes hear the signal-shot of the Hunter he shall immediately run into the Big House and begin to sing for these hunters. All the Attendants must be ready to feed the hunters and all the horses unsaddled and fed, for that is the rule and act governing the Attendants.[1]

First the Bringer-in prays, using tobacco.[2] He bestows a blessing when offering praise to him our Father. This is sufficient for this time.[3]

There is also, my kindred, an ancient custom that we beg the Mask-Spirit to dance for us. You Cranes, you know how and you understand those songs which are used for this occasion when singing for the Mask. Every person who wants to go in the Big House is permitted to look on while the Mask dances in the Big House.[4]

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informant, who has taken part in this hunting rite, are that the leader distribute portions of tobacco to the hunters who are under his control. At each night's camp the stopping place is selected by him, the rations of food are distributed, tobacco is offered to the fire with a prayer by the leader and other details suggesting the rules governing the war parties' conduct among Central Algonkian and in the southern Plains areas.

Wi·ta'panoxwe, it is interesting to note, recalled, during his experience with the hunting squad, how a screech-owl cried near their camp one night; which has long been a sign of good luck (see also Zeisberger, p. 139). The next day he killed a deer, being the first of the party to do so.

[1] The hunters are not obliged to be concerned with the trouble of saddling, unsaddling or feeding their horses when enlisted in the sacred task of the ceremonial hunt. The Attendants take over all such duties of service to them and their animals.

[2] He burns a little tobacco in the fire.

[3] Hereupon it being between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the hunters leave, departing westward toward the Osage nation nowadays, the only hunting ground accessible to them.

[4] The man wearing the mask and the bear-hide clothes keeps the mask and clothes some hundred yards from the Big House at the edge of the brush in the open, hung upon a branch to keep it away from the dogs. Anyone who desires to perform this rite may put on the paraphernalia and accept the invitation as given above, and go into the Big House and dance. His dance lasts about ten minutes anywhere in the Big House that he desires. The mask when worn is held by the chin with the holder's fingers in the mouth of the mask, so that the wearer can adjust the focus of the eyes of the carving to his own focus of vision. The eye holes are small, yet the mask could be adjusted so that the performer could see as though he were looking through spectacles. To be able to do this was considered as a sign of spiritual greatness. It might be added that the face illustrated in Harrington's study (Fig. 1, p. 32) has the left eye-hole enlarged, something that had been done improperly, according to the informant. He leaves wearing the garb and returns it to the place where it is kept (fig. 9). This all takes place before noon.

13:Wallace E-4 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7
[P. 38, 0]

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
[721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate
154 captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
627 position."[52] The institution of blood-revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for
562 aggression, the overflow dribbled off in unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression.
578 "The effects which intoxication produces upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[F53(B)]

773 821 and lonely in her absence, started to make her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 224 521 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence among the Delawares, that while a party were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

797 115

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[-p 53 (C)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (C)--Analyst]